

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 EB-11 DRC-01 /175 W
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R 291353Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 764

SECDEF WASHDC

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9853

NOFORN

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

AGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: EASTERN REDUCTION PROPOSAL - NUMERICAL ANALYSIS,
INFERENCES DRAWN, AND PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. US MBFR DELEGATION HAS PREPARED AN INFORMAL
ANALYSIS OF THE EASTERN REDUCTION PROPOSAL TABLED BY THE USSR ON
8 NOVEMBER. OUR PRINCIPAL CONCLUSIONS ARE:

A. NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, THE EASTERN PROPOSAL -- IN EFFECT A CALL FOR
EQUAL PERCENTAGE (ABOUT 17 PERCENT) REDUCTIONS IN BOTH GROUND AND
AIR FORCES OF ALL NATIONALITIES -- IS FAR LESS ASYMMETRICAL THAN
THE NATO PROPOSAL OF A 700,000 MAN COMMON CEILING.

B. WHILE THE NATO PROPOSAL CALLS FOR A TRADING RATIO OF 2.9 MEN
FOR 1, THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD TRADE 1.1 MEN FOR 1. THIS RATIO
IS CALCULATED ON THE BASIS OF NATO DATA. THE SYMMETRY OR
ASYMMETRY OF THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL MAY APPEAR DIFFERENT TO THE
OTHER SIDE; THEY HAVE NOT PROVIDED ANY OF THEIR DATA.

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C. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD DISBAND REDUCED INDIGENOUS FORCES BUT WOULD REQUIRE ONLY WITHDRAWAL OF REDUCED STATIONED FORCES. THIS WOULD HAVE THE CONSEQUENCE THAT, ON THE NATO SIDE, ABOUT 65 PERCENT OF THE PROPOSED REDUCTION WOULD BE DISBANDED, WHILE ONLY ABOUT HALF OF THE PACT FORCES REDUCED WOULD BE DISBANDED.

D. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD REQUIRE WEST GERMAN FORCES TO TAKE THE LARGEST CUTS ON THE WESTERN SIDE (47 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL REDUCTION), AND THESE WOULD BE IN THE FORM OF DISBANDMENT.

E. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD NOT PERMIT BURDEN SHIFTING WITHIN NATO SINCE ALL COUNTRIES WOULD REDUCE BY THE SAME PROPORTION (THIS IS IMPLICIT IN THE FIRST PHASE AND EXPLICIT IN OTHERS). END SUMMARY.

2. NUMERICAL EFFECTS. THE EFFECTS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL, BY PHASE AND BY SUM, ARE SHOWN BELOW IN AIR AND GROUND MANPOWER TOTALS IN NGA, USING FIGURES OF 199,000 ALLIED AND 111,000 PACT AIR MANPOWER PLUS AGREED FIGURES OF 777,000 ALLIED AND 925,000 PACT GROUND MANPOWER.

	PREREDUCTION	END PHASE I	END PHASE II	END PHASE III
STRENGTH	(-20,000)	(-5 PER- CENT EACH)	(-10 PER- CENT EACH)	
NATO TOTAL	976,000	956,000	910,000	818,500
US	228,000	223,000	211,500	188,500
FRG	430,000	421,000	399,500	356,500
REST OF NATO	318,000	312,000	299,000	273,500
PACT TOTAL	1,036,500	1,017,000	965,000	861,000
USSR	516,500	507,000	481,000	429,000

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REST OF PACT	520,000	510,000	484,000	432,000
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3. WHEN ALL THREE REDUCTION STAGES PROPOSED BY THE EAST HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, EACH PARTY TO THE AGREEMENT WILL HAVE REDUCED ITS FORCES BY ABOUT 17 PERCENT. THE MAGNITUDE OF TOTAL MANPOWER REDUCTIONS IN EASTERN PROPOSAL ARE SET FORTH BELOW:

MEN

NATO TOTAL	157,500
US	39,500
FRG	73,500
REST OF NATO	44,500
WARSAW PACT TOTAL	175,500
USSR	87,500
REST OF WARSAW PACT	88,000

4. THE ASYMMETRY IN REDUCTIONS UNDER THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD BE GREATER IN CERTAIN ITEMS SUCH AS TANKS AND TACTICAL AIRCRAFT THAN IN MANPOWER. ASSUMING THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IMPLIES REDUCTIONS OF EQUIPMENT BY THE SAME PERCENTAGE (THE POINT IS OBSCURED BY REFERENCE IN THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO COMPARABILITY OF UNITS DE RELEASED), THE REDUCTIONS FOR TANKS AND TACTICAL AIRCRAFT WOULD BE THOSE SHOWN BELOW:

TANKS AIRPLANES

NATO TOTAL	1,000	275
US	250	50
FRG	500	125
REST OF NATO	250	100

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WARSAW PACT TOTAL	2,650	500
USSR	1,450	200
REST OF WARSAW PACT	1,200	300

5. MANPOWER REDUCTIONS COMPARED. THE TOTAL MANPOWER REDUCTIONS IN ALL PHASES OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AND THOSE REQUIRED BY THE ALLIED COMMON CEILING PROPOSAL ARE SHOWN BELOW:

EASTERN PROPOSAL ALLIED PROPOSAL

NATO TOTAL	157,500	77,000
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US	39,500	
FRG	73,500	
REST OF NATO	44,500	
WARSAW PACT TOTAL	175,500	225,000
USSR	87,500	
REST OF WARSAW PACT	88,000	

6. "DISBANDED" FORCES VS. "WITHDRAWN FORCES." THE TABLE BELOW SUMMARIZES THE NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE EFFECTS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IN TERMS OF THE PROPORTIONS OF REDUCED FORCES "WITHDRAWN" VS. THE PROPORTIONS "DISBANDED." THE NUMBERS OF MEN WITHDRAWN VS. DISBANDED IN THOUSANDS ARE SHOWN BELOW WITH BELGIUM AND NETHERLANDS FORCES IN FRG ASSUMED TO BE WITHDRAWN AS STATIONED FORCES. IF THESE FORCES ARE TREATED AS INDIGENOUS, NATO WOULD DISBAND 104,200 MEN, OR MORE THAN 66 PERCENT OF ITS TOTAL REDUCTION, WHILE WITHDRAWING 53,300 OR 34 PERCENT; FIGURES FOR QUOTE OTHER ALLIED UNQUOTE FORCES WOULD BE 13,800 WITHDRAWN AND 30,700 DISBANDED.

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FROM US REP MBFR

	MANPOWER REDUCTIONS TOTAL	(MEN 000) WITHDRAWN	DISBANDED
	(A)	(B)	(C)
(1) NATO TOTAL	157.5	58.5	99.0
	(37 PERCENT	(63 PERCENT)	
(2) US	39.5	39.5	--
(3) FRG	73.5	--	73.5
(4) OTHER ALLIED	44.5	19.0	25.5
(5) PACT TOTAL	175.5	87.5	88.0
	(50 PERCENT)	(50 PERCENT)	
(6) SOVIET	87.5	87.5	--
(7) NSWP	88.0	--	88.0

7. INITIAL INFERENCES:

A. TAKEN BY ITSELF, THE EASTERN PROPRSAL'S TWO PRIMARY EFFECTS WOULD BE:

- (1) TO WITHDRAW (BUT NOT DISBAND) A LARGE AMOUNT (ABOUT 90,000 OF SOVIET STATIONED FORCES IN EASTERN EUROPE, AND
- (2) TO DISBAND A LARGE AMOUNT (ABOUT 75,000) OF THE FRG'S ARMED FORCES STRENGTH.

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B. US REDUCTIONS WOULD BE ABOUT 50 PERCENT OF THE FRG'S AND ABOUT 45 PERCENT OF THE SOVIET REDUCTIONS.

C. THE OVERALL DIMENSIONS OF REDUCTIONS FOR THE PACT DIVERGE FROM THE ALLIED PROPOSAL, REDUCING ABOUT 50,000 LESS PACT FORCES AND SETTING THE REMAINING LEVEL OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES FOR THE PACT AT 42,500 HIGHER THAN NATO REMAINING FORCES. HOWEVER, THESE FIGURES ARE IN THE SAME GENERAL ORDER OF DIMENSIONS.

D. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD REDUCE TWICE AS MANY NATO PERSONNEL AS THE ALLIED PROPOSAL.

E. UNDER THE EASTERN PROPOSAL, TWO-THIRDS OF REDUCED ALLIED FORCES (ABOUT 100,000 MEN) WOULD BE DISBANDED THROUGH THE DEMOBILIZATION OF UNITS AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR EQUIPEMENT.

F. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT ON THE SOVIETS OF REMOVING THE APPROXIMATE NUMERICAL MAIN BATTLE TANK EQUIVALENT OF ONE SOVIET TANK ARMY (1460, AS COMPARED TO THE 1500 IN THE FIRST GUARDS TANK ARMY AND THE 1674 IN THE THIRD SHOCK ARMY), AND MORE MEN (BY 34 PERCENT) THAN THE APPROXIMATE 65,000 TO 68,000 IN A GDFG TANK ARMY. IN THAT RESPECT, THE CUMULATIVE NUMERICAL EFFECTS OF ALL THREE PHASES OF THE EASTERN REDUCTION PROPOSAL CORRESPOND APPROXIMATELY TO THE SOVIET REDUCTION IN THE FIRST PHASE OF THE ALLIED PROPOSAL (E.E., REMOVAL OF ONE OF TWO GDFG TANK ARMIES).

G. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD MAINTAIN THE EXISTING RATIO (ABOUT 50PERCENT - 50 PERCENT) OF SOVIET-TO-NATIONAL FORCES IN EASTERN

EUROPE.

H. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL SETS OUT A COMPLETE REDUCTION PROGRAM. CONSEQUENTLY, IT DOES NOT PROVIDE THE FLEXIBILITY WITH REGARD TO LATER REDUCTIONS WHICH IS NOW PRESENT IN THE NATO PROPOSAL.

8. A. WHILE THE SOVIETS HAVE CRITICIZED THE ALLIED ASSERTIONS OF AN EXISTING "DISPARITY" OF FORCES AND THE RESULTING NEED FOR ASYMMETRIC CUTS, THE EASTERN PROPOSAL NONETHELESS WOULD RESULT IN NUMERICALLY ASYMMETRIC CUTS (SLIGHTLY ASYMMETRIC FOR MANPOWER, MORE SO FOR TACTICAL AIRPLANES, DECIDEDLY SO FOR TANKS) THROUGH EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS. THIS IS TRUE PROVIDED THE PRE-REDUCTION IS AS ASYMMETRIC AS NATO SEES IT.

B. THE FOLLOWING NEGATIVE FEATURES OF THE EASTERN REDUCTION PROPOSAL STAND OUT:

(1) IT CUTS INTO NATO COMBAT CAPABILITY.

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(2) IT RUNS COUNTER TO OUR CONCEPT OF BURDENSARING BY INCLUDING NON-US NATO FORCES IN REDUCTIONS FROM THE OUTSET AND MAKING SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS AND DISBANDMENTS OF THESE FORCES.

(3) THE EASTERN PROPOSAL SEEMS TO HIT HARD AT THE BUNDESWEHR NOT ONLY NUMERICALLY, BUT ALSO BECAUSE FOR THAT (WHICH CONTAINS NEARLY HALF OF ALL OF NATO'S MANPOWER AND TANKS IN THE NGA), "REDUCTION" MEANS DISBANDING UNITS AND DESTROYING EQUIPMENT.

(4) ITS CONSTRUCTION, DELIBERATELY OR FORTUITOUSLY, COULD CONFRONT THE GERMANS WITH A DILEMMA. ON THE ONE HAND, IF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WERE TO BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED, THE GERMANS WOULD SUCCEED IN KEEPING US REDUCTIONS TO A TOLERABLE LEVEL -- ALTHOUGH THE ISSUE OF WHAT FORM THESE WITHDRAWALS WOULD TAKE IS NOT YET RESOLVED -- WHILE GETTING OUT OF THEIR IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD THE APPROXIMATE NUMERICAL EQUIVALENT OF A SOVIET TANK ARMY. AS A PRICE FOR THOSE OUTCOMES, THEY WOULD HAVE TO DISBAND (AND DESTROY THE EQUIPMENT OF) A NUMERICALLY LARGE PORTION OF THEIR PAINSTAKINGLY RECONSTRUCTED BUNDESWEHR.

(5) ALTHOUGH AT FIRST GLANCE THE EFFECTS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL DO INDEED OFFER SOME NUMERICALLY ASYMMETRIC REDUCTIONS, THAT ASYMMETRY IS NOT IN NATO'S FAVOR IN TERMS OF THE "REVERSIBILITY" OF THOSE REDUCTIONS IN CASE OF EMERGENCIES. THIS IS SO BECAUSE ON THE WARSAW PACT SIDE OF THE PROPOSED BARGAIN ONLY HALF OF THE REDUCED UNITS (BEING NATIONAL FORCES) WOULD BE IRREVERSIBLY REDUCED, I.E., DISBANDED AND EQUIPEMENT DESTROYED, WHILE ON THE NATO SIDE ABOUT 65 PERCENT OF REDUCED FORCES WOULD BE IRREVERSIBLY SO. IF THE PRESENT TREND OF REDEPLOYMENT OF ALLIED FORCES FROM THE FRG BACK TO WITHIN THEIR NATIONAL BOUNDARIES CONTINUES, THE PERCENTAGE WOULD CORRESPONDINGLY INCREASE.

(6) THE EASTERN PROPOSAL LOOKS SIMPLE BUT IS IN FACT COMPLICATED. THE WORDING OF THE PROPOSAL ALLOWS FOR SEVERAL

INTERPRETATIONS OF EXACTLY HOW THE PROTOCOL LIST MIGHT BE DETERMINED. REDUCTIONS MIGHT BE IMPOSED ON EQUIPMENT AS WELL AS MEN, SO THAT FORCES AND ARMAMENTS ARE REDUCED IN EQUAL PERCENTAGES WHICH MIGHT CAUSE APPROXIMATE SIMILARITY. THIS PROBABLY WOULD REQUIRE SIGNIFICANT RESTRUCTURING BOTH WITHIN NATO AND THE PACT. ALTERNATIVELY, THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS AND EQUAL PERCENTAGES OUTLINED IN ARTICLE 2 COULD APPLY TO MANPOWER REDUCTIONS TRANSLATED INTO UNITS WITH CORRESPONDING EQUIPMENT, NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENTING EXACT EQUIPMENT PERCENTAGES,

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BUT RATHER APPROXIMATE SIMILARITY IN ARMS OF SERVICES AND TYPES OF UNITS. IN SUM, WORKING OUT THE PROTOCOL WOULD BE DIFFICULT. HUMES

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